1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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trained seamstresses in Hsin Hsing or neighboring villages, or by tailors in Lukang, at relatively little expense. For example, if one supplies the cloth, a village seamstress charges NT $8 (US $0.22) and a Lukang seamstress NT $15 (US $0.42) to tailor a Western-style dress.[16] Most of the villagers consider homemade clothing rather crude and neither as well made nor as stylish as clothes made outside the home. Items such as men's khaki wash pants, all kinds of sweaters, and windbreakers are usually bought ready-made in Lukang or in Taipei by those villagers who work there.

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Wooden clogs are the most common footwear in the village, and it is interesting to note the development in the last few years of a great variety of design and color in the plastic band which goes over the instep. In addition, the flat top surface of the wooden clog may now also display designs. Thus, buying a pair of clogs in Lukang is very much like buying a pair of leather shoes in the United States. There are numerous styles and colors from which to choose, all on display in the shops in the market or the sidewalk stands on the street.

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Unless he has worked in Taipei and worn shoes there, a village man's first pair of leather shoes is usually bought at the time of his marriage. Girls sometimes own a pair of very inexpensive leather flat-heeled shoes. In addition, the younger people usually own a pair of sneakers which they wear to school and on trips outside the village area.

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[515]

In the village area people usually go barefoot while working during the day, and then at night, after washing their feet, they wear wooden clogs. The people are thrifty with their footgear, and one frequently sees men or women carrying their wooden clogs, or a young girl her leather shoes, as they walk along the road on the way home from some affair. The affair has ended, and with it the reason for wearing shoes.

HEALTH, SANITATION, AND MEDICAL FACILITIES

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The health situation in Hsin Hsing village has changed considerably for the better in recent years. Before the Japanese began their public health program, diseases of epidemic proportions were common. Cholera and malaria, which are now almost nonexistent, were great killers, and the mortality rate for infants and children was extremely high. Native medicines were of limited value. However, first under the Japanese and now the Chinese, Western medical technology, medicines, and public health techniques have greatly reduced the high mortality rate.

Through the use of Western medicines, especially penicillin, the many diseases still common in the countryside are fairly easy to control

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

structure of their ideal is complete. Instead of housing a single, united family, the wings are filled with independent units, each with its own stove, each having broken from the main family at the time of a brother's marriage or a father's death. Instead of a large house, the structure can only be properly described as a compound, for in some of the older houses the families are related to each other only three or four generations back. Two families have kept the ideal after the death of their fathers. One is a pair of surprisingly amiable brothers, both of whom work out of the village at well-paid jobs, leaving their two wives, ten children, unmarried sister, and mother in an ample village home. The two wives are so alike they could be sisters and they work together in effortless cooperation. Before we left the village, however, one of the brothers had been transferred to a town too far away to return home more than once a week. His wife, knowing only too well how much business is contracted in what might be called Taiwanese night clubs, packed up her children and the furniture of her dowry and went to join him. Although the division was made with little fuss and continued good will, it was still recognized as a "dividing of the stove." The only family still retaining the eminence of being united under one authority when we left Peihotien was that of Lim Chieng-cua. This is the family with whom we lived and about whom the rest of this book is concerned.

Lim Chieng-cua and his siblings were born and grew up in a small mud house much like their neighbors. In time a good many improvements were made in the house, but the family really wanted a new one, not additions and improvements. Lim Chieng-cua once told me, "Before we built this new house, we had a mud house with a thatch roof. Every time there was a typhoon my father and my older brother's wife and I had to stay up all night to tie the roof down so it wouldn't blow off. Oh, how badly we wanted a new house! We changed two rooms of the mud house to brick, we had a good kitchen, a room for bathing and a big wooden tub for heating bath water. We even had a hand pump and hardly anyone had a pump in those days, but our hearts weren't satisfied. Now we have a good brick house, and yet every time I see a better house, I wish we had a better one too."

It is characteristic of Lim Chieng-cua and his father that when they built their new house it was not quite like any other house in the village. It was a traditional house and in every way worthy of respect.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

Lim Chieng-cua's restlessness was expressed in several changes in the house during our stay. The first was the ceiling in the guest hall. It was followed by a gigantic electric ceiling fan which had the effect of a stationary tornado the few times it was turned on. I think the next change was the one appreciated equally by our citified cook and the women of the Lim family, all of whom hated the clumsy hand pump that was once so admired by their neighbors. The operation began with the installation of an electric pump to fill the cistern, but continued until Lim Chieng-cua had built a tank on the roof for pressure and threaded ugly, constantly clogging pipes into the family kitchen, our kitchen alcove, and the bathing room. When the system worked it was a joy, but Lim Chieng-cua soon discovered some of the handicaps of Western "conveniences." At least once a month he could be found pulling his pump apart or poking at the clogged waterpipes. This gave his neighbors small satisfaction. The last improvement—one that motivated one of the villagers to suggest that we must be paying far more rent than either we or the Lims were willing to admit—was the introduction of a Western bathtub. Until this monstrosity arrived, the bathing room had been occupied by a handsome wooden tub under which a small fire was built each evening. The water was never hot but always warm enough to be comfortable. Its operations left nothing to be desired. One stood on the brick floor and laddled water onto one's back as slowly or as rapidly as desired. The water drained across the floor into one of the gutters that ran through all of the back rooms and that was the end of it. One day the wooden tub was yanked out and in its place appeared a lizard green, pressed-stone, full-length bathtub. A hole was poked in the wall and on the other side was placed what Americans would consider an antique water heater, a round drum with space at the bottom for a small coal fire. After what I hope was an appropriately polite period of using the new bath tub, i.e., scrubbing it out, waiting half an hour for it to slowly fill, bathing, waiting ten minutes for it to empty, scrubbing it out, etc., I returned to my practice of ladling water over myself on the brick floor. Not so the rest of the family, nor, for that matter, the rest of the village. Lim Chieng-cua's latest addition became a treat among his friends, and on nights when the women of the family were feeling lavish with fuel, innumerable shining faces made the journey through our kitchen to the green bathtub.

There are fourteen permanent members of the Lim household.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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Chieng-cua. If she left him now, he might think I put her up to it. I told her no matter what the difference in pay was, I wouldn't let her go because Lim Chieng-cua is her relative and it would be an embarrassment to work for someone else and not for him. She has worked in the factory for four years now. When she started, she only earned NT$4.50. At first her wages only increased by 40¢ each time, but last year she started to get an increase of NT$2 each time he raised wages. That isn't so bad."

For an adopted daughter A-hua's life, by village standards, is not uncomfortable. Her family is better off than half their neighbors, and her mother is kind. Nonetheless, she is an adopted daughter. Her mother, who grew up as an adopted daughter herself, points out succinctly what this status, or more correctly, lack of status, means: "Gioq-ki is not an adopted daughter so she doesn't have to do much around the house and can refuse to do something she doesn't want to do. A-hua might say no, but I still make her do it. That is the difference."

A-hua's life would be very comfortable indeed if it were not for her elder sister. Gioq-ki is imperious, demanding, and well-versed in the obligations of an adopted daughter. She uses her younger sister as a drudge and as a scapegoat for her own frustrations. Their mother does not often interfere, partly because she is afraid of the temper Gioq-ki inherited from her fierce father, and partly because she accepts her treatment of A-hua as the fate of an adopted daughter. She is far too kind to allow any of the physical cruelties that used to be inflicted on adopted girls, but nothing in her world has ever suggested that adopted daughters can expect much more than this. One day when I was visiting in the large compound of Lim So-lan's mother's family, A-hua came running in, her face streaming with tears, looking for her mother. It was unusual to see A-hua upset—in general, she is a stolid, uncomplaining girl who bears her sister's arrogance patiently.

So-lan had stepped next door for a moment. The other women of the compound tried to calm A-hua as she poured out her troubles. "Gioq-ki told me to give Bun-iek [Gioq-ki's three-year-old son] a bath, but when I got his clothes off he kept saying the water was too hot. Really it wasn't hot, it was already too cool. But he kept insisting and so I said, 'All right then, if you won't take your bath, I'm going to take mine first for a change.' This usually makes him change his mind. Gioq-ki heard this and got mad and started shouting at me to give him

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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his bath first. I went to get some more water to cool off the bath water and I accidently banged the dipper against the tin. It made a loud noise and Gioq-ki began to scream at me. She said I did it because I was angry and I had no right to be angry. She scolded on and on and told me over and over to get out of the house and go live somewhere else. Finally I just said I would come and find mother and if she said it was all right, I would go away."

A-hua's grandmother interrupted her. "You dummy. Gioq-ki is not your mother and yet you talk about leaving because she says to. If your mother said that, it would be different. Gioq-ki isn't your mother."

The other women murmured agreement with the old woman, but A-hua hardly seemed to hear them. "I know why Gioq-ki says these things all the time now. The factory has been closed down for a couple of weeks and so she thinks I am just sitting at home eating her food. Everyday I have to bear her scolding now. When she feels like hitting me or scolding me, she just does it for no reason at all except that she feels like it. She is always saying, 'You are an adopted daughter and I am the real daughter. It is right that I scold and hit you.'"

By this time the room was nearly filled with the various aunts and cousins who lived in the compound, some of whom dismissed the uproar with, "Oh, two sisters always fight." Others, surprised by the unusual break in A-hua's stoicism, tried to console the girl with various formulas. One of the younger women whispered to me a fact I already knew: even when A-hua puts in a ten-hour day in the factory, Gioq-ki expects her to feed, bathe, and wash clothes for her three children.

When A-hua's mother returned, the girl was still sobbing. One of the women teased, "Oh, here you are, So-lan. Where have you been hiding? You left and let your two daughters quarrel." So-lan had had enough ill temper in her own home and was noticably irritated at finding the confusion in her mother's home. She listened impatiently to A-hua.

So-lan's mother, a wrinkled old lady who hobbles about on tiny bound feet, and who had also been an adopted daughter, intervened. "Isn't it true what she is saying, So-lan? Don't I often see Gioq-ki scolding her and even hitting her without reason? Isn't it time you scolded your Gioq-ki?"

Lim So-lan hates scenes of any kind and her mother's criticism

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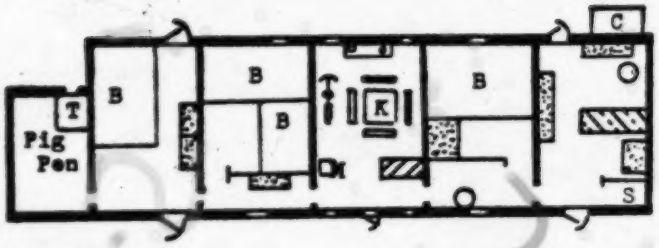

S - Shower
- Closet or Shelf
- Kitchen Stove
- Desk
- Ancestral Table
T - Toilet
B - Bed
C - Chicken Coop
K - Immortal's Table and Benches
M - Sewing Machine

Figure 4. Typical Sanlei House Plan with Furnishings

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• 515 A small room with a hard surface or wooden floor for baths is often found in the kitchen although a kind of [177] dishpan in the kitchen is also often used. Mixed bathing, Japanese style, is not uncommon but is not typical either and only occurs within a single family. Young to middle-aged husbands and wives sometimes bathe together while completely disrobed, occasionally with very small children. Older women often bathe with small children. However, there is seldom mixed bathing after age ten except for the aforementioned married couples.

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[355] Most houses are very dirty and cluttered as a cluttered house is a sign of wealth. Chickens and ducks leave [235] droppings as they wander in and out, sometimes accompanied [234] by small pigs.

796 and parties, and the visitation of many guests from outside
[796] the village area. Although legend claims that Matsu had special powers over boats and weather and special relationships with fishermen, today her powers are considered to be
[782] most general. Village women now make special worship of-
[84] ferings to her with reference to pregnancy, childbirth, and the care of children.

[801] There are special meanings connected with many repeated words in the Chinese language.[6] For holidays, the day of the month which is the same number as the month itself has special powers. The next festival of importance in the village is of this type, the Dragon Boat Festival, which occurs on the fifth day of the fifth month and is often called the Double Fifth. In addition to the usual activities, there is a special food, glutinous rice wrapped in a leaf, and doors are decorated with branches and leaves.
[262]
[515] An afternoon bath[7] is supposed to help keep one healthy for the entire next year. There are boat races in town as part of the festival but only a few unmarried young people from the village go to observe them.

796 On the fifteenth day of the seventh month is Chung
769 Yuan (Festival of the Hungry Ghosts) especially set aside
795 for the worship of the Hao Hsiung-ti (Good Brothers, an euphemism for unworshipped ancestors) although some worship of the Good Brothers occurs periodically all during the year. All ancestors are worshipped, both the personal

512 vacation period for the school alone marks significant
[871] changes in the patterns of behavior. Perhaps unexpectedly, mothers have more free time or at least more time to work in the fields during the school vacation periods because older children are available to care for their younger siblings. In spite of these problems, I will attempt a description of a "normal" day which might be described by a villager as a day when nothing much happened.

Midnight marks the beginning of the day. The village
[354] is very quiet as no one appears to be awake. In almost all village houses, a single low-wattage bulb is burning in the kung t'ing or kitchen. Through the night, few people will
[514] be seen. Four or five men may go outside to eliminate but most people use a chamber pot in the bedroom or kitchen if
[625] it is necessary. During the New Year season or after a robbery, two men of the I Ching carrying sticks very quietly walk through the village every half hour. Periodically, their muted voices may be heard together with the other two men on the patrol and the female who prepares the tea and noodles in her kitchen. The village is quite dark since the bulbs emit but little light and the surrounding countryside is even darker, punctuated here and there with the scattered glows of light in surrounding villages.

[443] The first man to arise is the vegetable peddler at
[515] 3:30 a.m. After a quick wash with cold water in the kitchen
[262] and a meal of cold rice covered with pickles and spicy fish,

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[515] he peddles off in his three-wheeled cart alone for the city
[262] to arrive in the market by 5:15 a.m. About 4:00 a.m. the
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[782] second man in the village is up and quickly heads for the temple carrying incense sticks and flowers for worship in fulfillment of a pledge to the gods for relieving his prostrate trouble. The noise he makes starts others stirring.

[514] As people rise, they usually head for the outhouse and then
[515] into the courtyard or kitchen to wash. The wash water is at air temperature and therefore, often chilly in the cool morning at dawn's light.

[296] By 4:30 a.m., the first group of six women is off to
[264] the river to wash clothes together. They have eaten a handful of cold rice and will prepare and eat breakfast after they return about an hour later. By the end of the next
[264] hour, there are few silent households. The active married women are up first and after ablutions, start the fire for breakfast although about one of five families will have a cold meal. Women are followed by the children, awakened by the noise in the kitchen. Few people are ever formally called and told it is time to get up. The active mature men are last to arise except for the occasional old person who may sleep until very late.

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782 Before breakfast, a representative for each household worships in the kung t'ing with incense sticks. This is supposed to be the oldest male in the household but it appears that women perform the task about half the time. Although

512 exchanged or hired, men with small contiguous plots will
461 plan activities so there is someone nearby working too so that during periodic breaks, they can enjoy a cigarette and conversation together. Even men who are usually silent claim to feel more comfortable when someone else is around. As I observed village activities over a period of time, I was struck by the fact that it was quite rare for someone to be isolated for more than a few minutes. The detailed plans made in the evening to work near each other indicate this fact is by design.

512 After cleaning up the kitchen and preparing for
• 515 breakfast the next morning, women have a little leisure
[555] time before giving the small children baths in the kitchen and putting them to bed. Slightly older children are bathed and dressed in pajamas but they may play quietly or study for a while before going to bed. The older children and adults now take their baths in approximately age order although unmarried adults are often far behind. Fires would rarely be specially started for hot water so that if one desires hot water for his bath, he must take it soon after dinner, making use of the stove which is hot from cooking dinner.

512 After bathing, there is leisure time for recreation.
561 Several conversational groups tending to consist of age-
571 graded neighborhood clusters gather in the courtyards. Once
517 past age 30, most husbands and wives will be in the same